HUMAN EVENTS

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News Section — *Printed in Two Sections*

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Crisis: The Soviet breakthrough in space may prove a blessing in disguise if, spurred by the public uproar, the United States achieves a breakthrough of the morass of defense contradictions and political cover-up which envelops the Capital. This is the dispassionate judgment of those who have watched the present crisis develop inevitably from its beginnings dating back to the end of the last war.

The facts which — they say — must be recognized, as a preliminary to such an American breakthrough:

(1) The Soviets, by their achievement, have shown they are ahead of us in satellite development — and no alibis fed out the public should dim this realization. The Government faces dangerous if not fatal long-range implications from this Soviet lead — unless proper measures are taken.

(2) The Soviets, by their ability to launch the satellite have also — without a shadow of a doubt — demonstrated they are substantially ahead of us in development of an intercontinental ballistic missile — a threat to our survival, of a not-so-long-range nature.

Recognition of these stark facts by many in the Capital confirm the warning issued by HUMAN EVENTS on August 31, when it reported that America had wasted her scientific resources on "peacetime" uses and that "in the weapons field, we have dissipated our efforts with no priority program carried out on a crash basis."

There is no reason — say experts — for panic, provided that we *see* clearly the problem and take steps to correct the situation.

A report, "There's panic in the White House" was untrue, so far as any official fears for our immediate safety were concerned. But there was a sort of "panic" among the Palace Guard, arising from worry about political repercussions. Public discontent with the defeat in the satellite race might do irreparable damage to the Administration — already hurt by the clumsy handling of the Arkansas situation.

Also, it is known that not only Democratic but also Republican Senators privately advised the White House to call Congress into session — a suggestion immediately rejected. The Palace Guard feared such a session would only serve to ventilate the mounting criticism of Eisenhower and his policies. Additionally, it might provide a sounding board for increasing doubts about Ike's military sagacity.

Meanwhile, another phenomenon has appeared — a buck-feverish demand for all-out spending to solve the problem. This is, to a large extent, fabricated by the New Deal zealots who abound in the Capital. This is their hour of opportunity.

David Shea Teeple, former Assistant to the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, told HUMAN EVENTS today: "Our need is not more money. It is the intelligent mobilization and employment of our great scientific and technical personnel. It has not been the lack of funds, but the diversion of funds to nonessential projects, which has caused us this defeat in the race with Russia. It is my considered opinion that we would today possess not only the earth satellite, but also the 5000-mile ICBM if we had not wasted our resources on 'atoms for peace' and 'nuclear nonsense.' "

(On page 4 of the News Section, Brigadier General Bonner Fellers presents an informed military answer to the "panic of spending.")

Despite the hysteria, however, constructive proposals are beginning to catch public attention. Another "Manhattan Project" — similar in design to that which created the atom bomb in 1942-5 — receives the support of powerful elements in the Pentagon. The argument of these elements runs as follows:

We can no longer afford to dissipate our scientific resources on producing consumers' gadgets. A "czar" (why not General Leslie Groves, who ran the original Manhattan Project?) should be named and given full powers of priority on scientific and technical personnel to launch a decisive "crash program." All such projects as "atoms for peace" should be discarded and all essential materials and talents concentrated on this one supreme effort.

As one expert put it: "It will be scant comfort to Americans if the day comes when we have the highest standard of living but the Communists are in a position to destroy us completely."

Breakthrough of Buncombe: Various nostrums which have frittered away our time and misdirected our energy and resources are now clearly discredited by the Soviet achievement. "Middle-of-the-roaders" previously skeptical about "realism," are now backing down on the following notions:

(1) *That "secrecy" and security protection for scientific developments are unnecessary.* This doctrine —

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that we should open our files to all and sundry throughout the world, enemy and neutralist as well as ally, in order to promote scientific and technological advancement — has been the prevailing thesis among the New Deal element in the press. Since Soviet Russia produced her great success (undetected by even our intelligence services) under the tightest conditions of secrecy, how can this position be maintained any longer?

(2) *That conciliatory, "soft" policies will win the friendship of "neutralist" elements in Europe and Asia.* This has been the reasoning behind our foreign-aid giveaways to Communist and fellow-travelling nations and our participation in the "Atoms-for-Peace" program. Now reports of world-wide reaction to the Soviet satellite announcement show the error of such docile policies. Neutralists the world over now confirm that their ambiguous attitude toward the United States and Soviet Russia is caused, not by their keenly developed moral sense, but by their uncertainty as to which power is the stronger. Their motive is not morality, but the fear of power. Scripps-Howard European correspondent Ludwell Denny reports that if Russia "treated Poland to the Budapest butchery tomorrow it would not diminish but add to the fear prestige which the conquest of outer space has given her."

(3) *That the Soviet bosses can be "trusted."* This assumption keeps popping up in the demand for disarmament agreements and "summit" conferences. Washington *Star* Foreign Editor Constantine Brown points out that, in violation of the "cooperative" program of the International Geophysical Year, the Soviets carried out their "moon" project in utter secrecy, and "knowing that the scientific instruments of the West were designed to track on a certain frequency . . . for reasons of their own, utilized another frequency which to a large degree made the Western instruments ineffective."

Even more important, many authorities (including Igor Gouzenko) believe, no such launching could have taken place unless the Communists had plundered our own project of its secrets.

It is recalled that David Greenglass, whose testimony convicted atom spies Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, revealed in March, 1951: ". . . *once in the presence of my brother, [Rosenberg] mentioned a sky platform project . . . I would say this was in late '47. He told me he had gotten this information about the sky platform from 'one of the boys' [Communist spies in Government] . . . He said that it was some large vessel which would be suspended at a point of no gravity between the moon and the earth and as a satellite it would spin around the earth.*"

Stassen's Finest Hour: Two groups in the Capital have been happily fanning the flames of panic lit by the Soviet satellite announcement and the accompanying propaganda. These are the Big Spenders, who see insolvency as the road to survival, and the disarmament addicts — led by Childe Harold Stassen.

Stassen — it is known — has proposed what would amount to a "Munich" settlement with the Reds, agreeing to a permanent "coexistence" policy and U.S. recognition of Communist China. All the top-level State Department officials, including Under Secretary Herter, oppose this move.

Little Rock: Capital Republicans continue to commiserate with one another over Little Rock and its effect on their party's chances in the South. For defections from the painstakingly built GOP organizations in Dixie are described as "wholesale."

What hurts most, it is reported, is the fact that Southerners feel that Ike has "two-faced" them — talking one way when bidding for their support, then acting otherwise when the chips are down. The President's pre-election comments last September (see HUMAN EVENTS for October 5, 1957), are vividly recalled, as is an address Ike delivered in Little Rock itself during his 1952 campaign. At that time, voicing a "moderate" and pro-states' rights stand on integration, Ike asked his listeners to work for a "climate of cooperation," and spoke forbiddingly of the dangers of "the creeping tide of central law that results in all-powerful Government." "Let us do our jobs at . . . home," he said, "and not let the Federal Government take over any more of them."

● A measure of the upheaval in the Republican party as a whole is seen in the comment of Senator Styles Bridges, in a speech delivered in Nashua, New Hampshire, October 1: "*You can't change the social order overnight. It has to be done gradually, with patience. I feel the President has been in a difficult position, or spot. But I think it would have been better if he had not sent in Federal troops but had sworn in several hundred U.S. deputy marshals locally, or — if he preferred — from neighboring states.*"

● Political historians in the Capital warn gravely that the Federal invasion of Little Rock is not, as some Northerners have wishfully termed it, merely a "Southern problem." It establishes, they say, a precedent for Federal military intervention on any pretext — if the President decides that "the processes of justice" are not being carried through to his liking. Thus Federal troops could be summarily used in labor or other disputes involving the possibility of violence, or in the pretense of solving some national emergency.

The forbidding remarks of President Truman in October, 1946, are recalled here with considerable uneasiness. At that time, Truman was faced with the choice of removing price controls from meat, or following the totalitarianism of "controls" to its logical conclusion. Fortunately for the Nation he chose the former course. But his explanation of the action, it is said, showed how closely we were treading to the abyss of the police state. "Some have even suggested," Truman said in his radio address at the time, "that the Government go out into the farms and ranges and seize the cattle for slaughter. This would indeed be a drastic remedy. *But we gave it long and serious consideration.* We decided against the use of this extreme wartime emergency power of Government. *It would be wholly*

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impracticable because the cattle are spread throughout all parts of the country." (Emphasis added.)

Labor Front: All the signs — including well evaluated noises, gestures and cant phrases from Very Important People — point to emergence of proposals for severe, restrictive labor legislation before long. All observers here agree on that prospect — although the more percipient ones doubt that it will really "restrict" all the Labor Bosses. They fear that it will actually prove to be a mere diversionary proposal to ward off reform of the entire labor-union hierarchy.

At any rate, the portents that "something is in the works" have multiplied over the weeks. *Life* magazine, last spring severe on the Kohler Company, recently got severe on the labor bosses. *Business Week*, also traditionally friendly to the established boss rule of labor, on August 31 changed its tune. Secretary of Labor Mitchell, no enemy of bossism, adopted a new theme recently on TV, talking of stringent labor laws.

Finally, it is known on Capitol Hill that such "liberal - modern" Republicans as Senators Case (N.J.), Allott (Colo.), Ives (N.Y.) and Alexander Smith (N.J.), have discovered a new interest in legislation to reform labor's house.

What's behind this? Labor observers in the Capital say that the leaders of the AFL-CIO now believe some kind of "strong" laws will be passed, that otherwise they themselves will lose their traditionally great power. Fear prompts these bosses, but also guile. For the severity they look for would not be applied to them. They want to restrict — not labor unions in general — but one labor union in particular: The Teamsters Union. And the one labor boss to be made the scapegoat is — not suprisingly — Jimmy Hoffa.

In short, what those knowledgeable in reading the signs on the labor front expect is a law to harness the power of the Teamsters Union — period. Legislation to apply to one union or group of unions can be passed — for precedents exist. There is the long standing Railway Labor Act (which of course did not restrict, but expanded, railway union power). Then there was the Lee Act, aimed at harnessing Petrillo of the Musicians' Union. The expected law to cut Hoffa down to size would presumably be designed to cover abuses coming under the heading of "hot cargoes" and "secondary boycotts," on which Hoffa and the Teamsters have grown great.

Naturally, if and when such a measure is broached publicly, conservatives on Capitol Hill will register disappointment and probably revolt. For they would correctly diagnose the proposal as a dangerous "diversionary" tactic. It would obviously not cut down any of the power of the Reuthers and Meanys — would not ban compulsory unionism, or union monopoly privileges, or use of union dues for political purposes. Nor would it protect the rank and file against the exactions of the labor bosses. It would simply be an *ad hoc* move against Hoffa, to harass that leader in the developing struggle between him and the other leaders of his caste.

What a Difference a Week Makes: *Dispatch by Joseph Alsop in the New York Herald-Tribune, dateline Warsaw, Sunday, September 29:* "The new Poland of Wladyslaw Gomulka is intensely exciting and even inspiring because the people are brave and newly free . . ."

Associated Press Dispatch, dateline Warsaw, Saturday, October 5: "Communist riot police charged angry crowds in Constitution Square again tonight with tear gas and noise bombs after two nights of student freedom uprisings."

The Egghead: Conservative Washingtonians wish success to "The Egghead," a new play by Molly Kazan (wife of Hollywood Director Elia Kazan) which opened at New York's Barrymore Theater Wednesday.

The play is a biting satire on allegedly tolerant "liberals." The "egghead" is a college professor (he admits to three pet hates: Germans, Catholics and Southerners) who publicly denounces an FBI probe of a former student of his, a Negro union organizer. The professor's eyes are opened only when the Negro is finally forced to admit his Communist activities, threatening that, if exposed, he will say that the professor has been involved all along in the conspiracy.

Mrs. Kazan remarks: "I knew I was violating some of the dearest shibboleths and clichés of Broadway. . . ." She adds: "it was no accident that 'The Egghead' was turned down by many managers 'who liked the writing' but were alarmed by the material."

LETTERS FROM

MARY S. PATTEN, Republican National Committeewoman for Tennessee: "Mr. Patten and I first became readers of HUMAN EVENTS as a result of a gift subscription from Congressman Carroll Reece. We are anxious for others of our friends to become acquainted with it, and so have sent you our check for gift subscriptions."

MERLIN I. SEAL, Co-pastor, First Lutheran Church, Duluth, Minnesota: "One of our good friends, H. C. Dudley, gave Pastor Farness and myself a gift subscription to HUMAN EVENTS. We have enjoyed receiving this very fine documentary on governmental affairs. Its analysis of big and little events is so refreshingly frank and honest."

REV. DAVID BURKE, S.J., Gonzaga High School, Washington, D. C.: "Father T. A. Fay, S.J. and I enjoy HUMAN EVENTS. Father Fay is on our Mission Band and gives many lectures, conferences and retreats, and preaches missions, during which he uses HUMAN EVENTS to great profit. I, myself, use it in history classes and it is a fund of accurate information, inspiring to myself and my students. My students doing research get many of their findings and convictions from HUMAN EVENTS. I attend many gatherings in Embassies and elsewhere where I use your material."

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How to Have the ICBM* and a Better Defense and Still Cut the Budget $10 Billion

by BRIG. GEN. BONNER FELLERS, U.S.A. (RETD.)

The amazing Soviet satellite, as it circled the globe, ushered in a rash of desperate demands for a wild defense spending orgy. For those who believe America's salvation lies in spending our way out of every difficulty and danger, the little Red moon came as manna from Heaven.

Yet to create an adequate national defense, such hysterical spending is absolutely unnecessary. The truth is, more than enough money has been readily available — and more than enough has already been spent — to place the United States far ahead of the Soviets in satellite development. Likewise, more money than is necessary has already been spent on national defense. We have been forced into second place in satellite development largely because of deadly interservice rivalry and bungling. Months ago, an American earth satellite might have been launched. But the Army and Navy were too busy fighting not only for satellite and missile control but for their very survival.

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Interservice rivalry has also led us to cling to the shell of conventional warfare at the expense of adequate nuclear warfare development. The cost of sustaining both programs has caused us to lag in air power — the only weapon available to us today which can be decisive against the Soviet Union. Unless and until our ICBM is developed and perfected so as fully to take the place of air power, we must maintain the air advantage over the Red Air Force. For Americans to listen to Communist party chief Nikita Khrushchev's recent boast that "Fighter and bomber planes can now be put into museums" would be the height of folly.

There is no need for astonishment at the Soviet satellite leadership. Our topmost Administration leaders have known of, but have long been unwilling to face up to, the reality of the Red air, nuclear and satellite effort. The Soviets developed the A and H Bombs years ahead of expert predictions. We should now proceed on the assumption that they have the ICBM, as claimed. In combat aircraft the Red Air Force, which is thoroughly modern, is nearly three times the size of the U.S. Air Force. Our Strategic Air Command is superior to that of the Red Air Force. But sworn statements of Generals Twining and LeMay have disclosed that between 1958 and 1960, unless our present air program is greatly expanded, the Red Air Force will have gained the air advantage.

The meaning of our drift into second place militarily — and that is precisely where we are drifting — is terrifying. Once the Kremlin dictators gain air and missile supremacy, they will be free to pursue their announced goal of world domination. Today Britain could be utterly destroyed by Red bombers and H bombs. As a consequence, of necessity, her policy is not to permit the gap to widen between her and the Soviet Union. Soon, unless we greatly expand our air and ICBM program, we shall be in the same unenviable position as is Britain. Should this tragic situation eventuate, it will be the end of liberty everywhere. The Soviet satellite, as it encircled the globe, has sounded our last warning. But there is yet time to prevent disaster if we act intelligently *now*.

In this nuclear age of air and missiles, neither our Army nor Navy nor the two combined can be decisive against the Soviet Union. This is not to say that they are not still most essential. A primary Army role is ground air defense. The Navy must defend our coastal cities against Red submarine launched missiles. Both these defensive roles are vital. However, the traditional Army mission — to destroy the enemy land Army — and the conventional Navy role of blockade cannot be decisive against the Soviets. The Red Army in Eurasia is too formidable; the Soviet Union is not vulnerable to blockade.†

Only Air Power (and the ICBM, should it some day replace air power) can be decisive against the Soviet Union. It is therefore imperative that we retain air ascendancy. This will require a larger Air Force budget but not an expanded military budget. Rather the defense budget can be reduced. Before the Korean War the combined Army-Navy budget was less than $10 billion. Since these forces cannot be decisive against the Soviet Union, their combined budgets can safely be reverted to the $10 billion level. On the other hand the Air Force, if strong enough, can be decisive. Its present budget should be increased by some $2 billion.

In addition, we must take world leadership in missile development and especially in perfecting the ICBM. Interservice rivalry must give way to cooperative, friendly competition. The Soviet satellite achievement doubtless has stunned our people into greater effort. Much of the development work has already been accomplished. We have the industrial genius, the scientific resources and the technical know-how to outstrip the Soviets. *This we must do.*

What would this cost? Let's estimate $1 billion annually.

We now come to foreign aid. Whatever may or may not have been its merit in the past — the stark reality is foreign aid cannot materially strengthen our Strategic Air and ICBM development. Air power is an entity. It cannot be parcelled out among allies without decreasing its potency. No European ally needs, or is it endeavoring to produce, the ICBM. Since the peace of the free world, and victory if war is forced upon us, rests on American Air and ICBM supremacy, foreign aid can now safely be discontinued. At the moment there is some $10 billion in unexpended foreign aid which would cushion the shock of the cut.

To summarize the suggested changes:

On the Army-Navy Budget	Save $9 billion
On foreign aid	Save $5 billion
On Air Force budget	Increase $2 billion
On research and development	Spend $1 billion
On ICBM	Spend $1 billion
Total Saving	**$10 billion**

With American air and ICBM supremacy, there would be true free world defense and *no World War III.* Such a reoriented program cannot originate in interservice bickering at the Pentagon. It must come from the Congress — or better yet — the White House.

* Intercontinental ballistic missile.

†We are keeping ground forces totaling 300,000 men — plus their dependents — in Europe. The West European nations have a larger population than the U.S.A. and can at least supply whatever ground forces are needed for their defense.

Brig. Gen. Bonner Fellers, U.S. Army, Retired, served two years as American Observer with the British in the Great Desert Campaigns. In 1943-44, he was Chief of the GHQ Planning Section under General MacArthur in the Pacific. The author of *Wings for Peace* (Regnery), he has lectured and written extensively on air power since his retirement in 1946.

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Article Section I

TWO ENEMIES WITHIN OUR GATES

The Twin Threats of Communism and Crime

By J. EDGAR HOOVER

Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

A DOZEN YEARS AGO, our country emerged victorious from a devastating world conflict. As we then turned our attention to the problems confronting our Nation, we observed the rapidly growing, menacing two-headed monster of subversion and lawlessness. During the year 1946, 1,685,203 major crimes were reported by local, county and state law enforcement agencies in this country. Last year, on the other hand, a shocking total of 2,563,150 major crimes was reported by the Nation's police. The number is increasing this year.

In January, 1947, Communist party membership was recorded as 74,000. Since then, actual Communist party membership has declined. Thus, with an estimated population increase during the past dozen years of some 30 million people, it would appear that we are losing the fight on crime and winning the battle against subversion. Nothing could be further from the truth. To give up in the war on crime, or to ease up in the battle against subversion, will bring national disaster.

The fight against lawlessnesss, while discouraging, is not a hopeless one. Conversely, the subversive movement today actually presents a far more deadly menace than the Communist party figure would indicate. Even bearing in mind the well-known Communist claim that for every actual dues-paying member there are ten more individuals prepared and anxious to do their bidding, the total still may not appear too formidable. Yet, history tells us of the devastation which a handful of fanatics strategically placed can bring. When we dismiss the menace of communism as the activity of a small dissident group, we move into a "fool's paradise."

Whatever the surface indications of Party discord, the FBI investigations have shown that there is a hard core of conspiratorial Reds unaffected by Party differences and controlled by the heavy hand of Moscow. As long as this undercover "apparatus" exists, the Communist threat cannot be brushed aside as trivial or fanciful. It is a continuing, aggressive force constantly at work to subvert the American people.

The United States is hamstrung by maudlin sentiment of some and sinister designs of others. Forces have been at work in the United States, since the illegitimate birth of atheistic communism, which seek to weaken and destroy us. Soviet Communist party leader Nikita Khrushchev, in fact, reiterated this goal when he predicted in his well-publicized June television interview that your grandchildren would live under the heel of Communist socialism. The influence of the subversive conspiracy has been almost unbelievable – reaching deep into practically every walk of life. To gauge the effectiveness of this campaign, we need only to note the widespread and vociferous clamor raised whenever our Government attempts to deal firmly in self-defense against the subversive threat.

CERTAIN ORGANIZATIONS obviously dedicate their efforts to thwarting the very concepts of security. They vehemently oppose methods to gain this security and it is obvious that their aim is to destroy it. They protest that they are fighting for freedom, but in reality they seek license. They hypocritically bar Communists from their membership, but they seem to hate all persons who abhor Communists and communism. They claim to be anti-Communist but they launch attacks against Congressional legislation designed to curb communism. They distort and misrepresent and ridicule the Government's security program. They lobby and exert pressure on the leaders of Government both in the Legislative and Executive Branches.

Some such organizations are supported by tax-exempt funds. Others are infiltrated by a hard core of propagandists — small but articulate — whose real aims do not represent those of the hundreds of otherwise well-meaning Americans who are supporting such organizations. The recent campaign to throw open the files of the FBI is a case in point. The bland refusal to recognize the right of the public welfare and the proper use of common sense results too often in a prostitution of the law in favor of evil.

To dismiss lightly the existence of the subversive threat in the United States is deliberately to commit national suicide. In some quarters we are surely doing just this. It would be the worst kind of folly to allow the spy and subversive immunity through technical rather than logical interpretation of the law, while they plot the destruction of our demo-

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cratic form of government. The American Communists and their dupes and fellow travellers are the skirmishing lines of the Soviet conspiracy against our Nation.

Despite the American party's claims of independence from Moscow, let us look at its February National Convention — one of the most carefully rigged and fraudulent shows ever staged. There it gave the lie to the masters of the "big lie." It retains its old name, traditional organization and the majority of its old leadership. In addition, it reaffirmed its adherence to the basic concepts of Marxism-Leninism. It refused to take a stand against the rape of Hungary, against tyranny and anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. At no time did it disavow its dependence upon or loyalty to the Soviet Union.

The Russian conspirators smile, then frown; they zig, then zag, but they never really deviate. Bloody world revolution is their final goal. They regard America as the Nation which must be destroyed. As dedicated Americans, we must be eternally vigilant. To be preoccupied with the dangers of possible atomic destruction and to forget the deadly dangers facing us from within is folly indeed.

DAILY, NEWS REPORTS remind us of the rampaging reign of lawlessness and, particularly, of the shameful juvenile crime picture expanding throughout the Nation. Not only has the number of juvenile offenders increased tremendously, but so has the viciousness of their crimes. The harmless prank has given way to the premeditated act of violence. Disrespect for lawful authority has blossomed into complete disregard for the individual rights of others.

Shockingly, arrests of persons under 18 years of age increased more than 17 per cent in cities during 1956, while the increase in population of this group was only about 3 per cent. Furthermore, almost 46 per cent of all arrests for major crimes in the United States were of youngsters under 18. This group, for example, accounted for more than 66 per cent of all auto theft arrests. They are no longer bad children; they are young criminals and must be dealt with accordingly. The wholesome majority of the youth of this country, unfortunately, must suffer the disgrace and shame brought down upon their age group by the relatively small percentage of youth who have become enmeshed in the tangled web of crime.

The peddlers of obscene pictures and writings have so flooded the market with this toxic trash within the past few years that to find a news rack without samples of it is the rare exception. The trade in this printed poison is big business and a lucrative one. A single smut dealer, for instance, can produce at small initial cost obscene photographs or publications which can then be copied by the thousands. Unlike the narcotic cigarette which is reduced to ashes after degrading one unfortunate victim, the obscene photo, film or book can be transmitted on an almost endless round of moral destruction. The activities of the muck merchants are national in scope and are closely organized. These moral degenerates draw no line of age distinction when it comes to customers.

An aroused public is necessary — one that will not countenance the placing of this trash on public display. Parents and other guardians of the young must be aware of what is being read by those in their care. Guidance and concern for a child's mental and spiritual development are just as important as regard for its bodily needs. Stiffer legal penalties, particularly in local and state courts, are needed to replace the frequent wrist slap given those convicted of this vile trade. Not until longer sentences and heavier fines remove the financial advantages of this traffic will the producers, distributors and dealers of filth be driven out of this sickening business.

The term "juvenile delinquency" is, of course, a misnomer. The large majority of cases involving juveniles have exhibited that the real delinquency orginates in the home. Parental delinquency would certainly be a more descriptive term. It is my firm conviction that only when the family returns to living as a unit will we be moving in the proper social direction. Millions of words have been written and spoken on this subject. The time for definite action is long overdue. Any lasting corrective steps will have to begin at the cornerstone of our society — the home. The child with a secure, happy, religious home rarely becomes delinquent. The youngsters whose parents care enough about them to be interested in their activities are not found in the juvenile courts and correctional institutions.

Finally, the time is opportune to reinform America of the inspiring story of our glorious democratic history of liberty, freedom, tolerance and justice. What is needed to revitalize the outlook of our youth is a total effort, beginning in elementary education and soundly bolstered in the home, to teach and preach the greatness of America, to make our history and our traditions live anew.

This article is adapted from a speech delivered before the American Legion National Convention, September 19, 1957.

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Article Section II

AN AMERICAN STORY

Caxton Printers – A Unique Venture in Publishing

By E. V. STANLEY

TWENTY MILES or so west of Boise lies the town of Caldwell, Idaho (pop. 10,000). Though physically remote from such power centers as Washington, New York and Chicago, Caldwell harbors one of the crucially important political phenomena of the day. For it is the home of one of the mere three or four publishing houses where books stressing economic individualism and unyielding anti-communism may still find ready acceptance.

The publishing house in question is called The Caxton Printers, Ltd., a prosperous concern well-known to natives of the surrounding Idaho countryside for its journeyman work on such specialties as greeting cards, announcements and school supplies. Caxton has a national reputation as well, built through a labor of love: with no prospect of financial gain, it has made available to American conservatives important literature that would otherwise have been buried under the relentless pressure of "liberal" conformity.

Caxton's President is J. H. Gipson, Sr., a liberated spirit who personifies all that is resourceful, self-reliant and imaginative in the saga of American individualism. With his father, Gipson built the Caxton Printers from meager beginnings to its present sizeable dimensions, today handling a volume of business estimated at a million - and - a - half dollars annually. Even so, it remains an enterprise in the classic American mould. Here is no purveyor of mass mediocrity or impersonal haven for "the organization man." Caxton management is a family-affair, including Gipson's two sons and a son-in-law. Their craftsmanship is personalized and loving, so that every Caxton book has a recognizable character: sturdy and solid, short on New York publishing frills, long on durability and substance. Every book made on the Caxton premises is hand-bound, fashioned for the long service required by anyone who loves and uses books.

CAXTON FIRST made the transition from printshop to publishing house with the publication, in 1925, of a volume called *The Idaho Citizen*. This first venture, by virtue of the book's becoming a staple in the list of Idaho state textbooks, was, in Gipson's words, "something of a commercial success." But the real leap into the perilous world of book publishing did not occur until several years later.

"About 1928," Gipson says of these beginnings, "we found ourselves making more money than we really needed for our modest wants. One of our principals had some authors in his immediate family and knew how really hard it always has been for new writers, particularly new writers from the West, to find publishers, even when they seem to be doing worthwhile work."

And so the Caxton story took a new, and peculiarly American, twist. To exist, Caxton had built a profitable concern. This done, it used its resources to absorb losses – if by so doing others might benefit.

In embarking on its new course, Caxton thought to help deserving authors who might

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otherwise never have a chance to publish. "We hadn't any idea," Gipson remarks, "that the venture would be profitable — and it hasn't." (Gipson is probably one of the few remaining American businessmen who would offer "deplorably small" as an unsolicited description of the sales of any of his products.) Americana and fiction — the latter including Vardis Fisher's controversial *In Tragic Life* — were the standard commodities in Caxton's earliest phase as a publishing house.

Came the 1930's, and the roof very nearly fell in. This was not simply owing to the Depression; for in the toils of that national misfortune — on top of a considerable previous expansion and a drop in sales of more than one-half — Caxton would lay off none of its employees. Those who wished to remain did so, and all weathered the economic storms together. Meanwhile, net profits fell from $15,000 annually to a deficit of that amount.

To the stress of economic forces was added a more grievous torment — the New Deal of Franklin Roosevelt. Gipson recalls his bouts with the National Recovery Administration: ". . . as an organization we are more or less individualistic and naturally under the old NRA we were in hot water most of the time. Running the Caxton Printers is quite a job for those of us who have put in a quarter of a century at it, and we didn't see quite how it was to be done by bureaucrats in Washington 3,000 miles away . . . had it not been for the Supreme Court decision outlawing NRA, the Caxton Printers would have been spoken of in the past tense."

After these scrapes, Caxton was also afflicted with tragic visitations of theft and fire. "The big fire" of March 17, 1937, razed the Caxton plant to the ground, consuming manuscripts, records, drawings. Again the Gipson vitality won out; in two months, scarcely missing a beat in its schedule of printing commitments, Caxton Printers was completely rebuilt and functioning as of yore.

All these tribulations were in the way of a testing — perhaps a strengthening — of the Gipson fiber. For shortly ahead lay what was in many ways the most audacious, and most portentous, of Caxton's publishing adventures — inspired by the dean of modern American libertarianism, Albert Jay Nock. In 1938, Nock wrote in the *American Mercury* that he was trying, with small success, to persuade publishers to reprint Herbert Spencer's *The Man vs. The State*. Nock speculated that the impact of this book, if read and comprehended by 5000 leaders of American opinion, might turn the gathering totalitarian hurricane from our shores. Gipson acted on Nock's hope, and brought out a limited edition of Spencer's classic. The course had been entered, and Caxton undertook to bring out a select number of similar libertarian books in the succeeding years.

The result is a choice list of over 30 books which are essential to an understanding of our contemporary woe. In addition to Spencer's crushing refutation of "the New Tories" seeking to impose statism on the people of Great Britain, the Caxton "Libertarian Library" includes books by Nock, Ayn Rand, Cecil Palmer, Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn, William Graham Sumner, Felix Wittmer, Garet Garrett and many others.

The flavor of the Caxton brand of publishing may be tasted from inspecting a few of these books.

Garet Garrett's *The People's Pottage*, for example, is a ringing indictment of America's advance into statism. Garrett, one of our truly great prose artists, shows how the various measures of the New Deal meshed to form a total socialist unity. He then examines the disastrous consequences of continued profligacy in Government spending at home and abroad. No one can read this truly moving book without conjuring up a none-too-distant apocalypse for America.

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In *The British Socialist Ill-Fare State,* Cecil Palmer pumps stinging buckshot into the fat haunches of the Laborite "experiment." Here is a wealth of illustration and argument that should jolt the craftiest of collectivists into silence.

It is fitting that *Our Enemy, the State* — Albert Jay Nock's lucid assault on statism — should be included in the Caxton library. An essential statement of true Americanism by a disaffected American, it should be read in conjunction with the Nock-recommended book which began the Caxton series, *The Man vs. The State.*

Also a must on the Caxton list is the irrefutable reasoning of Spencer's American counterpart — William Graham Sumner. *What Social Classes Owe to Each Other,* Sumner's demolition of the very sophistries and fallacies which plague us today, will be particularly remembered for describing the original "forgotten man":

> The type and formula of most schemes of philanthropy or humanitarianism is this: A and B put their heads together to decide what C shall be made to do for D. The radical vice of all these schemes, from a sociological point of view, is that C is not allowed a voice in the matter, and his position, character and interests, as well as the ultimate effects on society through C's interests, are entirely overlooked. I call C the Forgotten Man.

Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn tackles the central domestic question of our time head on: can we indulge in an orgy of economic levelling, he asks, and still retain our essential freedoms? In a literate and scholarly analysis, he shows that the answer must be a definite "No." *Liberty or Equality* is among the most penetrating works of social and political commentary available today — a fitting addition to the Caxton list.

So the "Libertarian Library" runs, a veritable motherlode of good American sense — the richest vein of ore in Idaho's rich mining country. And — what is especially reassuring — more such valuable books will be added as time passes. President Gipson's commentary on Caxton's initial experience with *The Man vs. The State* conveys the matter-of-fact fastness of the company's intention. Nock's pessimistic forecast of sales, Gipson notes, was correct — "because the first printing that we brought out in 1940 amounted to 1,500 copies and, notwithstanding a great press from the reviewers, it took us more than five years to sell it."

He concludes, simply: "However, since then we have published many other books and monographs, some of which have sold much better, and we will publish others."

Here is a quiet determination that will not falter before the latest winds of doctrine, nor buckle under the raw demands of "liberalism's" transient power.

On the following page is a complete list of the Caxton "Libertarian Library," including all the books discussed in this article and many others as well. These books may be obtained, at the prices indicated, from the Caxton Printers, Ltd., Caldwell, Idaho. The page can be used as a convenient order blank. Simply fill in the quantity of each title that you want in the box next to the title, and send the page to Caxton. The entire set of 34 books may be obtained for $82.25. If payment accompanies your order, Caxton will pay transportation charges. Unless otherwise indicated, shipments will be sent by book post.

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